The Korean Diaspora from Global Perspectives

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Introduction

According to 2003 statistics, 6.3 million Koreans are estimated to live in 160 different countries around the world (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2003). This population of overseas Korean residents is equal to roughly 9% of the total combined populations of South and North Korea. Overseas Koreans are regionally concentrated in four super-powers: the United States (2.15 million), China (2.14 million), Japan (890,000), and the Commonwealth of Independent States, or CIS (550,000). The Korean Diaspora was an unintended consequence of the unfortunate events of modern Korean history. However, due to this Diaspora, Korea now has an invaluable pool of worldwide human capital, and thus a competitive edge over other countries with respect to globalization.

Despite the Korean Diaspora's relatively short history from around the mid-19th century, it is characterized by myriad challenges and responses in various settings. For the sake of simplicity, we can categorize the Korean Diaspora into four distinct periods. The first period is from the 1860s to 1910, when farmers and laborers emigrated to China, Russia, and Hawaii

to escape famine, poverty, and oppression by the ruling class. The second period is between 1910 and 1945, when farmers and laborers who were deprived of land and other means of production moved to Japan to fill labor shortage created by Japan's wartime conditions. This period is also characterized by the migration of political refugees and activists to China, Russia, and the United States to carry out the Korean independence movement against the Japanese. The third period is from 1945 to 1962, the year when the South Korean government established an emigration policy. In this period, students, war orphans, children of mixed parentage, and wives of U.S. military servicemen came to the United States for the purpose of study abroad, adoption, and family reunion. The fourth period is from 1962 to the present. In this period, Koreans began to leave their home country for permanent settlement in foreign countries. In 1962 the South Korean government initiated group and contract emigration to Latin America, Western Europe, Middle East, and the North America. Furthermore, U.S. immigration policy in 1965 that effectively abolished the national origins system (which had until then discriminated against people not from Northern or Western Europe) opened the door for Korean immigration to the United States in large numbers in search of better economic and educational opportunities.

Indeed, each wave of Korean immigration was driven by different historical factors in Korea as well as the host countries, and thus the motivations and characteristics of Korean immigrants in each period were also substantially different. Thus, Koreans provide students of race and ethnic relations with a rare case to investigate how immigrants, countries of origin and destination, and timing of immigration interact with each other to influence the ways immigrants and their descendants adapt to new environments.

Previous research on overseas Koreans has been conducted in various fields such as anthropology, sociology, history, politics, and linguistics. Most of these studies, however, have focused on a particular group of Koreans in a particular region such as Koreans in the United States. There have been little efforts to compare overseas Koreans in different world regions. Moreover, most research is basically descriptive, lacking theoretical scrutiny and analysis. Now we need to integrate hitherto scattered pieces of information and develop a coherent theoretical

framework by which we can explain systematically diverse experience of overseas Koreans. In this article I will focus on the history and patterns of Korean migration to and adaptation in five countries (China, the Commonwealth of Independent States, Japan, the United States, and Canada), where large numbers of Koreans have settled for long periods of time.

I gather information on overseas Koreans from the literature and censuses and government publications of the five countries. Supplementary information came from surveys and field studies I conducted in the United States, the CIS, Canada, and China. The US survey was conducted with 1,315 Korean respondents in 11 large cities of the United States between February and April of 1996. The CIS survey was carried out with 1,302 Korean respondents in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Moscow, Sankt Perterburg (Saint Petersburg), and Sakhalin between July 1997 and March 1998. The Canada survey was completed with 333 respondents in Toronto between January and May of 2001. The China survey was conducted in September, 2003 in Quintao where increasing numbers of Korean migrants are forming their own ethnic community. Questionnaires were distributed to 800 respondents in the Quintao area and 530 cases were used for final analyses.

Although I have not relied on strictly probability sampling methods for data collection, I tried to obtain as much representative samples of respondents as possible in terms of sex, age, generation, social class, and region. Because the four surveys contain the same questions, they provide useful information on demographic, socio-economic, and attitudinal characteristics of overseas Koreans. However, I do not have primary-level data for Koreans in Japan. Thus, I rely on the existing literature and secondary data including censuses to obtain comparable information on these two groups.

Theoretical Review

Sociologists have proposed theoretical models that describe patterns of intergroup relations in multi-ethnic societies (Schermerhorn, 1970; Barth and Noel, 1972) or cycles of relations through which such societies presumably pass (Park, 1924; Gordon, 1964). These theories have usually

suggested that ethnic groups follow one of two paths: they either increasingly blend together or remain segregated. To simply put, groups may become more alike culturally and interact with one another more freely; this is assimilation. Or they may remain culturally distinct and socially segregated; this is pluralism (Marger, 1991: 115).

Assimilation theory was developed in the American setting and has, in the past, been the most influential school of thought in race and ethnic relations. According to this theory, ethnic minorities must adopt the language, values, behaviors, and lifestyles of "White-Anglo-Saxon-Protestants" (WASPs) before they will be accepted as full-fledged members of mainstream society. From this perspective, traditional values, customs, and ethnic institutions of immigrants are regarded backward and incompatible with mainstream society and culture and thus need to be shed before they seek incorporation and upward mobility in host society.

If assimilation theory emphasizes the unilateral adoption by minority groups to the institutions and cultures of the majority, pluralism allows for and encourages the retention or even strengthening of differences among ethnic groups. Abramson (1980: 150) defines pluralism simply as "conditions that produce sustained ethnic differentiation and continued heterogeneity." In short, pluralism is a set of social processes and conditions that encourage group diversity and the maintenance of group boundaries. Under pluralism, differences among groups do not result in prejudice and discrimination; each group is allowed to function on an equal plane, albeit with limited structural assimilation and amalgamation.

Both theories are criticized for not being able to describe accurately the reality of multi-ethnic societies. Assimilation theory fails to address the distinctive and unequal assimilation processes for whites versus nonwhites. We know that unlike Americans of European origin who were gradually incorporated and assimilated into mainstream society, nonwhite ethnic groups such as African Americans, Asians, Hispanics, and American Indians remain visibly distinct and disadvantaged in American society at large. For these racial minorities, there has been cultural assimilation to some extent for survival purposes; however, their access to mainstream opportunity structures has been tenaciously restricted (Hsia 1988; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 1992). In a similar vein, pluralism does not address adequately enough issues of domination-subordination and

inequality among different groups. Gordon once said that pluralism has never really existed in the United States. In most multi-ethnic societies, there is usually one group that constitutes the majority, dominating and discriminating against other minority groups. Competition for scarce social resources leads inevitably to a system of ethnic stratification where the majority group monopolizes power and social resources while minority groups are excluded from societal opportunity structures. Multiculturalism, which emerged as a new paradigm for race and ethnic relations of the United States, Canada, and Australia since the 1970s, recognizes and respects cultural diversity among groups, but ultimately does not challenge the status quo in the political and economic spheres (Porter 1965; Jayasuriya 1997).

Segmented assimilation theory was developed to explain markedly different patterns of incorporation of new immigrants to the United States after the mid-1960s. The new immigrants, who came from diverse national origins and social backgrounds, are known to exhibit diverging modes of incorporation (Rumbaut, 1994; Portes, 1996; Zhou, 1997). While highly-educated and middle-class immigrants from South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, and India achieve rapid upward social and economic mobility ("the mode of straight-line assimilation"), lower-class immigrants from Mexico and Puerto Rico are likely to be confined in the underclass positions ("the mode of downward mobility and assimilation into the underclass"). A third mode of incorporation is also found among Southeast Asian refugee groups that manage to achieve upward social and economic mobility with deliberate preservation of ethnic identity and the immigrant community's values.

Segmented assimilation theory makes an important contribution by overcoming the dichotomy of assimilation versus separation and recognizing an alternative mode of incorporation that is in between assimilation and pluralism. It highlights the ability of individual immigrants and their ethnic groups as a whole to respond to opportunity structures as much as it acknowledges structural and situational conditions of host society. For this reason, it has a better explanatory power than cultural theory or structural theory that fails to consider the interaction between internal characteristics of the immigrant group and external structural conditions.

Segmented assimilation theory is, however, criticized by its opponents that it is too early to talk about an alternative mode of incorporation because most members of the second generation of the new immigrants are still young to provide a sufficient empirical base for detailed analysis (Alba and Nee, 1999; Gans, 1999). Also, although the theory presents an alternative mode of incorporation, it does not develop fully concrete mechanisms by which immigrants seek incorporation into mainstream society while maintaining ethnic identity and solidarity. Finally, it was developed in the U.S. context and is not well designed for a cross-cultural or international comparison. Because it focuses on explaining intergroup differences in assimilation and social mobility of ethnic groups in the United States, it does not take into account seriously many factors that have varying impacts in different political, economic, and social conditions.

Acculturation theory advanced by Berry (1992) differs from assimilation theory by allowing four different types of incorporation of a minority group in host society. Berry defines acculturation as "the process of changes that results from long-term contact between different racial and cultural groups." He also distinguishes three phases of acculturation (Berry, 1997). The first phase is the contact phase where two different cultures encounter. The second phase is the conflict phase where the host society presses immigrants to conform to it. Immigrants feel confused in their identity when they have to choose between identity of origin society and identity of host society. The third phase is the resolution phase where they overcome the identity confusion by employing a particular strategy of acculturation. Berry (1987) proposes four types of acculturation (integration, assimilation, isolation, and marginality) by interrelating the level of participation in host society and the level of ethnic maintenance.

After having reviewed assimilation theory, pluralism, segmented assimilation theory and acculturation theory, I conclude that any single theory alone is not sufficient to explain such diverse patterns of incorporation of different groups of Koreans who migrated in different contexts at different times in different countries. We need an integrated approach that combines various theories to explain multifarious aspects of the Korean Diaspora.

Sociologists have delineated numerous factors that determine the

mode and pace of incorporation of immigrants in host society. To name a few, Frazier (1957), Sowell (1975), and Light (1972) emphasize ethnic culture and traditions, especially a tradition of buying and selling and self-help institutions like a rotating credit association. Bonacich and Modell (1980) highlight enhanced ethnic solidarity and cooperation among group members that emerge as a response to societal discrimination and exclusion. Ogbu (1974) distinguishes between immigrant minorities (arriving in host society voluntarily) and castelike minorities (originally brought to host society by force), claiming that the two groups are significantly different from each other in motivations and value orientations. Chiswick (1982) attributes earning differences among groups to human capital of individual immigrants and transferability of such human capital in the labor market of host society. Waldinger (1986) thinks opportunity structures of host society at the timing of arrival determine chances of economic mobility of immigrants. Bean and Tienda (1987) regard the mode of entry, the mode of integration (reception factors and immigration characteristics), and the process of integration (social mobility, geographic mobility, and discrimination) as determining factors of Hispanic ethnicity. Portes and Bach (1985) recognize an ethnic enclave as a key to the growth of the Cuban immigrant entrepreneurship. Min (1992), who compares Koreans in China and Japan, attributes the different patterns of adjustment between the two groups to the differences in the context of migration, the existence or absence of a territorial base, and the different levels of influence from Korea.

Drawing ideas from previous research, I conceptualize in <Figure 1> key factors of the mode of incorporation of overseas Koreans. I propose that the context of immigration (voluntary vs. involuntary migration), government policies toward minority groups (including the concept of citizenship), Korean ethnic culture and traditions (including Korean national characteristics), the class background of Korean immigrants, and generation as key factors that help explain differences among different Korean groups who migrated in different contexts at different times to different countries.

First, the context of immigration includes the timing and method of immigration. The timing of immigration is closely related with the opportunity structures of host society and greatly affects chances of

economic mobility of immigrants. The method of immigration, which is either voluntary immigration or forced migration, predetermines the motivation and background characteristics of immigrants and the treatment of the immigrants in the host society. Voluntary immigrants are more prepared and more willing than involuntary migrants to pursue upward mobility and assimilation to the host society and culture. Also, the different historical experiences of migration shape their perceptions of the host society and, hence, their strategies of adaptation to that society.

Second, the host country's government policies toward minority groups determine the terms of immigration and naturalization. Thus, the size and characteristics of immigrants and consequent adjustment of immigrants are greatly affected by the nature of government policies. The ethnocentric government policy makes it difficult for ethnic minorities to achieve successful social and economic adjustment. And assimilationalist government policy makes it hard for ethnic minorities to retain their traditional culture and ethnic identity. Rapid assimilation to mainstream society and culture is very likely in such conditions.

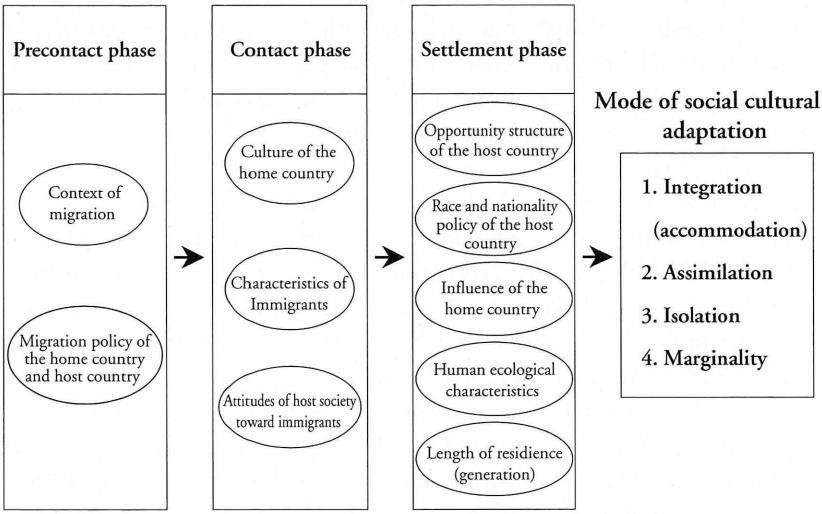
Third, ethnic culture and traditions, which may be referred to as the home country's original culture, is like a lens through which immigrants view and make sense of a new environment. It also provides knowledge and experience of how to perceive opportunities of upward mobility and mobilize resources to realize available opportunities. The similarity or compatibility of cultures of the home country and the host country can influence the likelihood of successful adjustment of immigrants. Immigrants, who brought ideas, values, behavior patterns, and institutions that are equally valued and approved by the mainstream of the host country, are more likely to make a more successful adjustment than those whose cultural traits are deemed deficient and rejected by the majority group.

Fourth, the class background of immigrants determines greatly the degree of upward mobility and assimilation in host society and culture. Highly-educated and middle-class immigrants are likely to pursue rapid upward mobility and assimilation to the mainstream society and culture. By contrast, lower-class immigrants are likely to experience retarded mobility and to depend on the ethnic community for livelihood and recreation. The retention of ethnicity and resistance to assimilation to the

host society and culture are more likely among the latter.

Fifth, generation is significantly related with the level of one's knowledge of and familiarity with host society and culture, affecting his or her life chances. Also generation shapes one's conception of identity and value orientation. The first generation maintain strong attachment and interest in the home country, whereas the second and later generations show greater interest in equal rights an privileges as citizens of the host country.

With this conceptual framework in mind, I aim to explain the modes of entry and incorporation of overseas Koreans from comparative perspectives. To clarify my points, I decide to focus on economic incorporation, which is the most crucial dimension of incorporation. Ethnic identity of overseas Koreans will be examined in a separate article. Before I start, I survey briefly the history of migration and settlement of



overseas Koreans to provide readers with background information.

<Figure 1> A Model of Social-cultural Adaptation of Overseas Koreans

Koreans in China

Immigration

Koreans began to migrate to Southern Manchuria known as Kando from the 1860s in search of land to cultivate rice. The early migrants came from bankrupt peasants in the northeastern part of Korea that was severely affected by several years of poor harvests. These destitute peasants crossed the northern border violating the royal order of the Qing Dynasty that forbade residence and farming in Kando because it had long been declared a sacred region. This migration resulted in concentrated settlements from the beginning even though it appeared as individual movements. They lived together based on their hometown and blood relations, and the introduction of innovative production methods, such as the development of paddy fields, required collective adaptation to new environments. In addition to such structural conditions, strong ethnic consciousness, ethnic education, and resistance against Japanese colonialism further strengthened ethnic solidarity within the Korean community.

The Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910 accelerated Korean migration to Manchuria. The large-scale land survey conducted by the Japanese colonial government in 1910-18 deprived many independent farmers of their de facto land ownership, causing these landless peasants to migrate to cities of Korea and abroad. Also during this period, political refugees and activists moved to Manchuria to carry out the Korean independence movement against the Japanese. However, their number was small compared to economically motivated migrants.

Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931 and established its puppet government of Manchuria in preparation for a full-scale war with China. The Japanese government felt a need to develop Manchuria as a military supply base for the invasion of China and a food supply base for Japan. To implement the plan, the colonial government organized a series of collective migration from southern Korea to remote areas in Manchuria in the later parts of the 1930s. As a result, the Korean population in China rose from 220,000 in 1910 to 460,000 in 1920, 607,000 in 1930, and to 1,450,000 in 1940. Korean migration to Manchuria stopped when Japan

entered World War II in 1940 (Kwon, 2001).

Immediately after the Japan's defeat in the war in 1945, China was caught in the civil war in 1945-49 between the Communists and the Nationalists. The Koreans in China allied with the Communists who promised regional autonomy and land ownership to ethnic minorities. The Koreans made greater sacrifice and contribution than any other ethnic minority groups in the Sino-Japanese war and the civil war. In recognition of their contribution to the foundation of the New China, the Koreans were granted citizenship and land ownership and were allowed to set up the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Region in the northeast part of China in 1952. In the autonomous region, which was soon downgraded to the prefecture level, Koreans were allowed to self-govern some of its internal affairs and to maintain their ethnic language, education and culture. Accordingly, Koreans became enthusiastic supporters of the New China and were proud to be Chinese citizens.

However, Koreans had to encounter again sufferings and setbacks as an ethnic minority during the turbulent 1950-70s when the Communists launched a series of campaigns including the Cultural Revolution (1966-76) in the name of abolishing bureaucracy and feudalistic elements of society. Korean intellectuals and leaders were denounced and punished as either "regional nationalists" or spies from North Korea or the Soviet Union. After having realized the vulnerability of an ethnic minority group and the danger of nationalism, Koreans have adopted the strategy of full accommodation to the authority of the central government. They have wholly cooperated with all sorts of political and economic campaigns and worked diligently to make the Yanbian region the most successful ethnic community in China. They even obeyed the population control policy of the government so enthusiastically that most Korean families have opted to have just one child even though ethnic minorities are allowed to have two children. As a result, their birth rate and population growth became lower than Han nationals and all other ethnic minorities (P. Yu, 2000).

Settlement

From the outset of their migration to China, Koreans were concentrated in the northeast parts of China that are present-day Jilin, Heiolongjiang, and Liaoning Provinces. This pattern of geographic distribution continues to

date. The Korean population in the three northeastern provinces was 1,103,000 in 1953, accounting for 99.2% of the total Korean population in China. According to the 1990 Chinese census, the three provinces contained 1,865,000 Koreans who accounted for 97.1% of the total Korean population in China. The Yanbian Prefecture in Jilin Province had 821,000 Koreans or 42.7% of the total Korean population in China (S. Kim, 2003).

The geographic concentration of Koreans in the northeast China began to decrease in the 1980s as increasing numbers of Koreans migrated internally and internationally in search of employment opportunities. In the early 1980s their migration was mainly a short-distance movement from rural villages to such cities as Yanji in the northeast prefectures. In the late 1980s large-scale migration began to head toward such cities as Beijing, Tianjin, Dalian, Shenyang, Qingdquo, and Shanghai. Korean migration extended to overseas in the mid 1980s: first to Russia, then to South Korea and Japan, and finally to the United States and Canada. It is now common to observe Korean Chinese to work in Korean restaurants in North America. According to statistics, about 30,000 Koreans migrated from Yanbian to Russia in 1991-94, and as many as 200,000 Koreans visited South Korea from 1992 to 1996, while 100,000 Koreans entered as migrant workers (P. Yu, 2000). The rural-to-urban migration and urban settlement weakened traditional rural village communities and established new urban communities in large cities.

Adaptation

In the past, most Koreans resided in rural villages in the northeastern provinces, concentrating on agriculture, particularly cultivating rice paddies (S. Kim, 2003: 110). According to a government statistic in 1941, 70% of Koreans in Manchuria engaged in agriculture. Due to their agricultural skills and strong work ethic, Koreans used to have a higher standard of living than other ethnic groups including the Han nationals, at least in rural areas.

The occupational distribution of Koreans began to change since China started economic reforms in the 1980s. According to the 1990 Chinese census, the proportion of agricultural workers among Koreans dropped to 52%, whereas the proportion of production workers increased

to 20%. The proportion of professional and technical workers was 12%, more than twice the corresponding rate of other ethnic groups. Koreans were also more highly represented in business and service occupations than other ethnic groups. The entrepreneurial class is likely to grow among Koreans because they are adopting more rapidly capitalist values and economic activities than other ethnic groups.

The growth of Korean businesses gained momentum in the 1990s as a growing number of South Korean tourists visited the Yanbian region and Mount Paektu, the highest mountain in the Korean peninsula. As the number of South Korean firms increased in major Chinese cities, business opportunities expanded especially in service-sector businesses catering to South Korean firms and their employees. Also, Koreans who went to South Korea as migrant laborers to work in so-called 3-D jobs (difficulty, dirty, and dangerous) returned home with capital and an entrepreneurial mind and began to invest in new businesses. So far, Korean businesses have been limited to small-scale retail or personal service businesses, such as restaurants, beauty salons, clothing stores, and shops in the market place. In the 1990s, the size and type of Korean businesses expanded and diversified to include upscale hotels, steak houses, bars, transportation, electronic repair shops, electronic game rooms, food processing factories, information technology, and real estate development. The geographic proximity between China and South Korea and the ever growing personal and economic ties between ethnic Koreans and South Korea are likely to accelerate this trend of capitalization and entrepreneurship.

Koreans in the CIS

Immigration

According to the statistics from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade of South Korea, as of 2001, 521,694 Koreans resided in the CIS. The most populous country for Koreans is Uzbekistan (230,800 Koreans) and the next populous countries are Russia (156,650), Kazakhstan (99,700), Kyrgyzstan (20,222), and Ukraine (8,958).

Immigration

Korean migration to Czarist Russia began in 1863, shortly after Russia acquired lands to the east of the Ussuri River by the Treaty of

Peking in 1860. The newly secured boundary placed Russia at the back door of Korea, and this new geographic proximity prompted the development of relations between the two countries (Chey, 1987: 62). The famine that struck Korea in 1869-1870 brought about large-scale migration to Russia. For the first ten years following the initial Korean migration, the regional administration was tolerant of the Korean presence, because they provided cheap labor in a sparsely inhabited land. Initially Korean migrants to the Russian Far East (Primorye or the Maritime Territory) was motivated by economic reasons, but after the annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910 and the unsuccessful March First Movement for national independence in 1919, Koreans came for political reasons as well. The number of political refugees and activists increased as the Japanese suppression mounted in Korea. The last major wave of immigration occurred between 1917 and 1923, with the majority of these new arrivals having settled in the Far East (Chey, 1987: 63). In 1900, 27,880 Koreans resided in Russia and by 1910 their number doubled to 54,076. In 1925, almost all of the 120,000 Koreans who had settled in the Far East by that time were granted Soviet citizenship (H. Kwon, 1996: 54-55).

Most of Koreans in the Russian Far East engaged in agriculture. They were experienced farmers equipped with skills in small-scale, intensive rice cultivation. In fact, they introduced rice farming into this region as they did in Manchuria. Koreans living in the Far East in the 1920s and 1930s developed into a strong social group with their own traditions that had great economic, political, social, and cultural potential. They also established cultural institutions, such as Korean newspapers and journals, a publishing house, radio programming, and a theater.

Based on their economic and population growth, Koreans tried to foster ethnic culture and education for younger generations as well as to set up their own army and military base to prepare for war against Japan. Their efforts were expressed in a collective petition to the Soviet government in 1928 asking for their own republic in the Far East. However, their nationalistic drive was halted by Soviet leaders, who themselves were imbued with a nationalistic ideology of Russian supremacy. The Czarist Russia's mistrust of non-Russians materialized in a series of relocation of those people from the border regions. In 1904-1905, hundreds of Koreans along with others of the "yellow-race" were

exiled from the Russian Far East to policed camps further within Russian, such as Tomsk, Perm', Penzu, and other Siberian cities close to and bordering on present-day Kazakhstan (AKK, 1997: 36). The more massive and systematic relocation of Koreans occurred in 1937 when Russia was about to engage in war against Japan and the mass media in the Far East began to raise the question of Japanese espionage in the area and the possible role of local Koreans in this spy network. By an order from Stalin, on August 21, 1937, the entire population of 171,781 Koreans were ordered to relocate to Central Asia. They were given short notice of departure and were allowed to bring with them only their clothing and enough food for a month-long relocation process. Although they were promised monetary compensation upon arrival in Central Asia for their properties and belongings left in Far East, most never received any compensation.

The relocation process proceeded in two stages during September and December of 1937: Koreans living in border regions were removed first and Koreans living in inner regions were removed next. A total of 36,442 households with 171,781 individuals were shipped in 124 wagons, usually meant for the transportation of goods and livestock, and were sent thousands of kilometers into the depths of the USSR. With the added stress of having lost their homes and being uncertain about their destinations, it is not surprising that in these conditions many fell severely ill (AKK, 1997: 65). Of the total relocatees, 20,170 households with 95,256 individuals were sent to Kazakhstan and 16,272 households with 76,525 individuals were sent to Uzbekistan.

During World War II, Koreans were once again thrown into turmoil. Koreans were asked to participate in and contribute to the war to save the country from the invaders. However, because Koreans were still treated as "enemy aliens" or "espionages of the Japanese army", most were forbidden to take up arms in the war. Nonetheless, hundreds and thousands of young men and women fought heroically in the war. The remaining Koreans joined work brigades that kept the country and army alive throughout the war. They worked primarily in the coal and metal mining industry as well as in other strategically important areas of industry. Especially heroic were the efforts of Korean collective farm workers who increased their output and the size of their fields substantially during the

war years. Several most successful farm workers contributed to the war funds by donating money for the building of planes and tanks as well as for bringing resources to the soldiers at the front. Thus, despite the humiliation of deportation, Koreans fought and labored hard during the war demonstrating their patriotism.

During the Soviet period, Koreans in Central Asia occupied an intermediate class position between the Russian elite and the local peoples. They tried only to be accepted by Russian-dominated society and culture, and thereby tended to adopt the condescending attitudes of Russians toward local ethnic groups. After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the independence of Central Asian nations in 1992, Koreans experienced a backlash and began to face disadvantages and discrimination in the newly independent nations. The new governments granted their national languages the official status and demanded all ethnic minorities to learn to speak the languages in schools and workplaces. Under this situation, some Koreans left Central Asian nations, especially Tajikistan where a civil war broke out in 1992, to start a new life in the Russian Far East, Russia, and Ukraine. However, most remain in Central Asia and try to adapt to new political and economic systems.

Settlement and Adaptation

During the Soviet period, Koreans experienced a significant constriction of freedom. They had been forbidden free movement inside the Soviet Union until the death of Stalin in 1953. Occupational choice was also seriously limited to farming, academia and other specialized fields, and self-employment. As a result of the strong pressure for Russification, Koreans in the CIS are known to be more assimilated to host society than other groups of overseas Koreans in terms of language use, ethnic identity, and interethnic marriage (Yoon, 2000).

In the course of adaptation to their host society, Koreans in Central Asia and Russia have followed three patterns: urbanization, education, and private farming and self-employment. Koreans are concentrated in large cities, especially capital cities of republics. According to the Soviet censuses, the urbanization rate of Koreans was lower than 20% in 1937-1940, but its rate rose sharply to 73% in 1970. The 1989 census showed that 84.2% of Koreans in Kazakhstan lived in urban areas and the

urbanization rate increased to 86% in the 1999 census.

The second pattern is investment in education. The proportion of Koreans who received advanced education doubles that of the general Kazak population. The first generation Koreans invested in children's education after they had acquired capital through rice-farming. For the sake of children's education, parents moved to large cities and this resulted in high rates of urbanization. The second and later generation Koreans equipped with advanced education became professionals, technicians, and administrators.

The third pattern is engagement in private farming and self-employment. Koreans in Central Asia have developed a unique economic activity called "Kobonjil" to capitalize business opportunities forbidden during the Soviet period (Baek, 2001). "Kobonjil" is a seasonal and mobile form of lease farming. Ever since the 1937 deportation, kobonjil provided an economic base for the deportees' survival and helped them to secure their present socioeconomic position in Central Asia. Although kobonjil was an illegal economic activity during the Soviet period, Koreans have managed to engage in this commercial enterprise and through it have achieved capital and capitalist values and behavior patterns. When the Soviet Union collapsed and Central Asian countries became independent in 1992, Koreans in Central Asia and Russia had an upper hand over the nationality groups in transition to a market economy. Koreans' experience with commercial farming and self-employment facilitated their upward mobility in the transition economy of the CIS.

Koreans in Japan

Immigration

The Korean migration to Japan and subsequent settlement took place while Japan occupied Korea as its colony. Although different waves of Korean migrants entered Japan in different ways and for different motivations, the dominating idea in the Diasporic discourse has been that Koreans were forcibly taken to and exploited in Japan. This idea helped them resist assimilation to Japanese society and culture and maintain a strong attachment to the mother country. A large number of Koreans in Japan still maintain their Korean nationality although the length of their

residence in Japan has exceeded 90 years and 90% of present-day Koreans were born in Japan. As of May 2000, 636,548 Koreans had Korean nationality as compared to 160,000 Koreans who became naturalized Japanese citizens. For many Koreans, Korean ethnicity and Japanese citizenship are two incompatible identities.

The history of the Korean community in Japan is categorized into four distinct periods: the first period (1910-38), when bankrupt peasants and laborers migrated to Japan in search of employment opportunities; the second period (1939-45), when Korean young men and women were conscripted to work in war industries and serve on the battlefield; the third period (1945-1988), when significant numbers of Koreans decided to remain in Japan after Korea became independent; and the fourth period (from 1989 to the present), when new waves of Koreans (so called "new-comers") entered Japan freely after South Korea liberalized overseas travel.

Before Japan annexed Korea in 1910, only a small number of Koreans resided in Japan (790 Koreans in 1909) and the majority of them were students who came to Japan to learn modern ways. Those students returned to Korea eventually and did not become an important part of the Korean community in Japan. After the annexation, Koreans became Japanese subjects and could travel freely to Japan. They began to enter Japan in increasing numbers to meet growing demand for cheap labor in the Japanese economy that expanded rapidly during World War I. Japanese capitalists recruited actively Korean laborers to fill the labor shortage, as well as, to suppress a rise in wages of domestic workers. As a result, the number of Koreans increased sharply from 3,917 in 1915 to 30,189 in 1920. Push factors in Korea were also important in motivating Koreans to emigrate. The land survey in 1910-18 deprived many independent farmers of their land for which they failed to claim de jure ownership. Unclaimed land was reverted to the state and then sold to Japanese landholders and land companies. Bankrupt farmers migrated to cities of Korea and became a reserved army of poor manual laborers. These uprooted people became ready candidates of labor migration. Because of geographic proximity to Japan, three provinces of present-day South Korea, Kyongsang Province, Cholla Province, and Cheju Island, supplied the majority of migrants to Japan in the 1920s. Once arrived in Japan, the migrants found employment with the help of their relatives and

friends who were already settled. Because of such social networks, Koreans from the same regional background in Korea tended to cluster in the same region and industry in Japan (Hicks, 1997: 47).

After Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931 and started a war with China in 1937, it needed extra manpower on the front lines and in the war industries. To achieve its goal, from 1939 Japan started conscripting young Korean men and women to work in coal mines, steel manufacturing and construction industries as well as to serve in the military. Between 1939 and 1945, 724,787 Koreans were conscripted and approximately 200,000 Korean women between the age 17 and 20 were forced to serve as comfort women (Han, 2002: 107). As a result the Korean population in Japan increased rapidly, reaching 2.3 million by August 1945, when the war ended. However, this number declined sharply to 598,507 by December 1947 when many Koreans returned to their liberated motherland (M. Lee, 1997: 66-70). Those remaining Koreans and their descendants formed the backbone of the Korean community.

The South Korean government liberalized overseas travel in 1989 as part of its globalization policy. Attracted to higher wages and opportunities for study abroad in Japan, South Koreans in their 20s and 30s migrated to Japan in increasing numbers through the 1990s. In 1960, only 17,065 South Koreans entered Japan. In 1991 alone, 795,496 South Koreans visited Japan; of this number 768,873 were short-term visa holders intent on tourism, business, or family visits. Sizable numbers of these short-term visa holders became long-term residents by overstaying their visa, or marrying Japanese citizens. This new wave of South Koreans are called the "new comers," as distinguished from the Korean colonial migrants (i.e., the "old comers"). The "new comers", who entered Japan when South Korea became an independent and industrialized nation, have a higher degree of ethnic pride and self-esteem than the "old comers". They concentrate in self-employed businesses in retail and personal service trades and established new Koreatowns in major Japanese cities.

Settlement

Members of the first generation Koreans in Japan led isolated and segregated lives in Japanese society. They concentrated in large industrial cities, such as Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, Nagoya, Yokohama, and Fukuoka,

where job opportunities in the manufacturing and service industries were ample. In those cities Koreans formed ethnic enclaves segregated from the Japanese. Their enclaves were often based on the regional origin so that people from the same region in Korea lived together.

As members of the second and third generations entered Japanese society, the degree of geographic concentration began to decrease. Although Koreans are still concentrated in select large metropolitan areas, the number of Korean ethnic enclaves inside the metropolitan areas have dwindled significantly. This is because the members of the second and later generations left the enclaves to avoid discrimination. At present, the Ikuno district in Osaka may be the last representative Korean ethnic enclave, where in 2001, 34,852 Koreans resided, accounting for 5.5% of all Koreans in Japan. This geographic dispersal has facilitated contact and social interaction between Koreans and the Japanese and accelerate the rate of intermarriage and other forms of assimilation into Japanese culture and society.

Adaptation

Partly due to their agricultural background and partly due to strong prejudice and discrimination against Koreans, the Koreans who entered Japan during the colonial period had great difficulty in the general economy and remained largely as unskilled laborers or marginal urban classes. From 1910 to 1945, 80% of the Korean labor force engaged in various kinds of manual labor that the Japanese avoided. The next common occupation was commercial business such as street peddling and black-market sales. Only 1% engaged in intellectual and professional occupations. Korean workers were also disadvantaged in wages: in 1920 the average wage of Korean workers was 60~70% of that of their Japanese counterparts.

When the war ended in 1945, the Japanese who had fought in the war or resided abroad returned home. These repatriates sought employment and hence competition for jobs intensified. As a result, Koreans who had worked as manual laborers, night-soil men, street sweepers, and coolies in the public works were expelled from their jobs (Han, 2002). Driven out of the labor market, Koreans eked out a scanty livelihood by engaging in peddling, black-market sales, illicit selling of

alcohol and cigarettes, hog farming, and collection of waste articles.

Economic activities and conditions of Koreans began to change in the 1960s. The proportion of manual laborers, agricultural workers, and garbage collectors decreased whereas the proportion of sales workers, drivers, and shop owners increased. For members of the first generation, who did not have Japanese citizenship and had a low-level of formal education, owning a small business was the highest economic achievement they could think of. With no possibility of being employed in a Japanese firm, self-employment in business was the only chance for economic survival and self-fulfillment (Han, 2002).

However, their businesses are small scale requiring only a small amount of capital and business skills. In non-manufacturing fields, Koreans are concentrated in junk shops, eating and drinking facilities, lodgings, and games. Societal discrimination and exclusion against Koreans in the mainstream economy and the reliance on personal social networks are the reasons for the concentration of Koreans in such marginal businesses (M. Lee, 1996: 151). Nonetheless, Koreans excel in two lines of business. One is the slot machine business and the other is the Korean steak house. The slot machine business is especially a lucrative niche generating more than 169 billion dollars per year and creating job opportunities for many Koreans. As such, Koreans have established an economic foothold in certain niches where the Japanese disdain to engage for social and cultural reasons.

Koreans in the United States

Immigration

Korean immigration to the United States has evolved in the context of the American military, economic, and cultural involvement in Korea. The early Korean immigration (1903-1944) was initiated by Hawaii's sugar planters, who recruited Korean laborers to work in their plantation fields. American missionaries such as Dr. Horace Allen and Reverend George Jones played a crucial role of linking the demand for cheap labor in Hawaii and the supply of such labor in Korea. More than 400,000 immigrant laborers from thirty-three countries were recruited in this way since 1830s (Patterson, 1988: 2-3), and 7,226 Korean immigrants arrived between

1903 and 1905.

The U.S. military involvement in Korea after World War II paved the way for the immigration of large numbers of Korean women and children to the United States. During and after the Korean War (1950-53), the United States provided military and economic aid to South Korea to prevent the spread of communism in Asia. The presence of U.S. troops resulted in a sizable number of intermarriages between Korean women and American military servicemen. From 1950 to 2000, about 100,000 Korean women entered the United States as spouses of American GIs (Yuh, 2002).

The political and military dominance of the United States over South Korea has extended to cultural dominance. Between 1945 and 1965, about 6,000 Korean students came to the United States to seek higher education at colleges and universities. Many of them, however, settled in the United States after finishing their studies and laid the foundation for chain migration from their homeland.

After the Korean War, the United States provided greater economic aid to South Korea to strengthen its economic stability and thus to help the country withstand communism. The United States also became Korea's primary supplier of capital and technology as well as its largest overseas markets, helping it build economic infrastructures and foundations for a free market economy that was essential for its continuing economic growth. Starting from the early 1960s, South Korea started export-oriented economic development and standards of living of Korean people improved steadily. During this period, higher education expanded rapidly, producing a highly educated urban middle class. Members of this class maintained strong motivations for upward social and economic mobility, but they could not realize their goals in South Korea because of its limited resources and opportunities. After the United States opened its door to all immigrants in 1965, they began to immigrate in search of better economic and educational opportunities (I. Kim, 1981).

The first wave of post-1965 immigrants included a high proportion of professionals, particularly medical practitioners. These highly educated and skilled workers were preferentially admitted to the United States until 1976 via occupational visa categories. As more Korean immigrants became U.S. citizens, they began to sponsor their family members'

immigration to the United States, and more Korean immigrants have come to the United States through family reunification preferences. As family networks became increasingly important as an entry mechanism, occupational selectivity of Korean immigrants began to decline. The proportion of immigrants from lower- and working-class backgrounds began to increase during the late 1970s and 1980s. This trend has made the Korean American community more diverse and heterogeneous in terms of occupations, socioeconomic status, and class positions in American society (Yoon, 1997).

During the past four decades, the volume of Korean immigration has changed . In 1965 only 2,165 Koreans were admitted as immigrants and the number of immigrants kept growing until 1987. At the peak of Korean immigration in 1985-87, more than 35,000 Koreans arrived annually, making South Korea the third-largest source of immigration during this period, after Mexico and the Philippines. After the Seoul Olympic Games in 1988, however, the size of Korean immigration has continued to decrease. In 1999 only 12,301 Koreans were admitted as immigrants, recording the lowest point since 1972. In 2000 the number of Korean immigrants increased to 15,214, but only half of these people were new arrivals and the other half were status adjusters who changed their nonimmigrant status into that of permanent resident. Altogther, from 1948 to 2000, 866,414 Koreans crossed the Pacific Ocean to start a new life in the United States (Yu et al., 2002).

As a result of immigration and the birth of the second and later generations, the Korean American population increased from 10,000 in 1950 to 69,150 in 1970, 357,393 in 1980, and to 798,849 in 1990. According to the most recent statistics of the 2000 U.S. Census, the Korean American population reached 1,076,872, recording 35% increase from the 1990 figure.

Settlement

Koreans, like other East Asians, have traditionally been concentrated in the western region of the United States. The earliest Korean communities formed in Hawaii and California. However, in the late 1960s, the pattern of geographic distribution changed To include the East and even the South, where their presence is much higher than other Asians. The two

most populous states for Koreans, California and New York, contain 43% of all Koreans, and the three-quarters of the total Korean population are concentrated in just 10 states. Nevertheless, these rates are not as high as other Asian groups: California and New York contain 57% of the total Chinese population, and California and Hawaii contain 62% of the total Japanese population.

Koreans have a strong tendency to live in cities, especially very large cities. Ninety-six percent of Koreans live in metropolitan areas, while 80% of the general population resides in metropolitan areas. Among the most populous metropolitan areas for Koreans, the Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange-San Bernardino-Ventura Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Area contain one-quarter of the total Korean population, making this area the center of Korean Americans (Yu et al., 2002).

Adaptation

Like many immigrants in the United States, Korean immigrants face disadvantages in the labor market due to language barriers and the inability to transfer Korean educational and occupational skills to the American labor market. Also, societal prejudice and discrimination against Korean immigrants have prevented them from getting access to job opportunities in the mainstream economy. Under these circumstances, many Korean immigrants have turned to self-employment, particularly small businesses, to earn income independent from external controls. In 1990 Koreans ranked the highest in self-employment rates, with a quarter of their civilian workers self-employed. This was more than twice the national average (Yoon, 1997: 17). The concentration of Koreans in small business is conspicuous particularly in large cities such as New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago, where between 30% and 60% of Korean adult workers are self-employed business owners. When taking into account both unpaid family workers and Korean employees working for Korean businesses, more than half of all Korean workers participate in the Korean ethnic economy as either employers or employees.

Koreans' economic situation, however, is problematic in areas of income and poverty. Despite the fact that a higher percentage of Koreans held post-secondary degrees compared the total U.S. population and whites, Koreans' household income ($33,909) was lower than the total

U.S. average ($35,225) as well as that of whites ($37,152). On average, Korean income amounted to only 91.3% of white income. Moreover, 14.7% of Koreans were below the poverty line (In 1990, a family of four was considered below the poverty line if its annual income was less than $12,647) as compared to 10% of the total U.S. population and 7% of whites. In other words, Koreans were twice as likely as whites to live below the poverty line. Furthermore, in comparison to other Asian Americans (Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, and Asian Indians), Koreans recorded lower family incomes and higher poverty rates.

Although Koreans earned less than whites and some Asian groups, they earned substantially more than African Americans and Hispanics; Koreans earned 50% more than African Americans and 40% more than Hispanics. Also, they were less likely than the two racial minorities to fall below the poverty line. By taking into account all these figures, it is fair to say that Koreans occupy the middle-class or at least the lower-middle class in the American class hierarchy.

Koreans in Canada

Immigration

Canadian missionaries like their American counterparts also played a mediating role between Korea and Canada, inspiring motivated Koreans to immigrate to Canada. Canadian mission in Korea began when James Gale (1863-1937) arrived in Pusan on December 12, 1888. His mission was initially supported by the YMCA of the University of Toronto but he later transferred to the American Presbyterian Mission, North when the UT-YMCA could no longer continued its support. After marriage, he moved to Wonsan (present-day North Korea) in June of 1892 and established a mission center there (Yoon, 2001). Gale was followed by a group of missionaries including Malcom Fenwick, William James Hall, Rosetta Sherwood (wife of William Hall), Sherwood Hall (son of Hall and Sherwood), and Oliver Avison. When Avison (1860-1956) and his wife Jennie Avison left Korea in 1935, their sons Douglas and Gordon continued their mission work in Korea. All of the early missionaries originated from Ontario, but after the Avisons missionaries from the Maritimes replaced them. William McKenzie of Cape Breton, Nova

Scotia led this shift in regional representation, and he was followed by Robert Grierson, Duncan McRae, and William Foote, who were all supported by the Presbyterian Church of Canada.

Like their American counterparts, the Canadian missionaries built schools, hospitals, and other social service institutions as part of their mission. Due to such educational and medical service to people, Canadian missionaries obtained the trust of Koreans who were initially hostile to westerners and western religion. At this time Koreans were deeply troubled by poverty and their oppression and lost sovereignty under the Japanese. Christianity gave Koreans comfort and hope that traditional religions like Buddhism and Confucianism failed to do and hence spread rapidly especially among alienated classes and women. Many Korean elites were also educated in private Christian schools.

During the first decades of the 1900s, as the size of the local Christian community grew, the Canadian missionaries felt a need for a "native" leadership to share pastoral and evangelical responsibilities (J. Kim, 1983: 76). They sent prospective "native" leaders to Canada, where they would be educated in the Canadian mold and then return to the mission field. The first Korean students who came to Canada under this missionary scholarship program were Hi-ryom Cho, Young-il Kang, Kwan-sik Kim, Chae-rin Moon, Harold Ch'oe, and John Starr Kim. From 1938 to 1945 no Korean students entered Canada. At the end of World War II, as a part of Canadian church participation in Korea's post-war rehabilitation program, increasing numbers of Koreans entered Canada as missionary scholarship students.

Most of these students moved to the United States to seek higher education or returned to Korea after having completed their education. The pioneering Koreans who settled permanently in Canada are Jong-wook Soh and Dr. Tai-yon Whang. Other Koreans who entered Canada later for study abroad also settled permanently after their education and laid a foundation for the Korean immigrant community. These early Korean immigrants before the 1960s consisted mainly of church ministers, medical doctors, and scholars. They contrasted sharply from the "regular" Korean immigrants who began to enter Canada since the 1960s for the purpose of permanent residence. The size of the Korean population in 1965 was approximately 70 and the center of the Korean community was

located in Toronto.

The arrival of "regular" Korean immigrants was greatly facilitated by a contribution of Taik-bo Chun, then president of a trading company in South Korea. Chun had an interest in immigration to Canada through his earlier relationships with Canadian missionaries in Korea. He, who once served as a public official during the Syngman Rhee government, regarded emigration as a means of relieving ever increasing population pressure in Korea. In 1964 he visited Ottawa and met with the Deputy Minister of Citizenship and Immigration and requested the opening of immigration to Koreans. Coincidentally, the Canadian government was about to change its immigration policy that had excluded Asians since 1947. In 1966 Lester Pearson's Liberal government changed Canadian immigration policy to allow new sources of manpower for economic growth from Asia, Africa, and Latin America. This change permitted more "people of color" to immigrate to Canada. As a result Korean immigration to Canada increased gradually from 1970 and in 1975 alone 4,331 Koreans arrived as permanent residents. Between 1970 and 1980, 18,148 Koreans immigrated to Canada and between 1981 and 1990, 17,483 Koreans joined the immigration flow. After the 1997 foreign currency crisis in Korea, immigration grew more rapidly and as a result between 1991 and 2001, the number of immigrants increased to 53,326. For the last four decades, 88,957 Koreans entered Canada for permanent residence.

Settlement

According the 2001 Canadian Census, the Korean population in Canada was counted at 101,715. This figure is 56% increase from 64,840 Koreans as counted in the 1996 census. However, Korean community leaders and newspapers claim that the census undercounted the number of temporary stayers such as tourists, visitors, and especially students for English training. If we include these mobile classes of people, they claim, the actual size of the Korean population would be greater than 150,000. It is also reported that as of 1999, there were 230 Korean churches across the country, 120 of them in Toronto. In the greater Toronto area, there were 50 various community organizations, 2 daily newspapers and 4 weekly newspapers, 1 radio station, and 1 TV program that has 30 minutes air time per week.

Due to their short period of residence in Canada, the majority of Koreans are recent immigrants: in 2001, 82.9% of Koreans were immigrants and 17.1% were Canadian-born. Non-permanent residents who holds a student authorization, an employment authorization, or a Minister's permit and family members living with them amounted to 12,217, accounting for 14.7% of the Korean population. The proportions of immigrants who arrived after 1991 and 1996 were 60% and 41.4%, respectively.

Like other immigrant groups, Koreans are heavily concentrated in a few select provinces. According to the 2001 Canadian Census, 1.8 million new immigrants entered Canada during the 1990s and nearly 9 out of 10 resided in Ontario, and British Columbia. About 12% of Koreans are known to live in Alberta and Quebec and very few live in the East region of Canada.

Adaptation

A high proportion of Korean immigrants to Canada came from college-educated, professional, and white-collar occupational backgrounds. According to the 1996 Canadian census, the proportion of graduates of four-year colleges and universities was 53.6% as compared to 23% of the general population. The Koreans' level of education was higher than that of more established Asian groups such as the Chinese and the Japanese. Despite their education, however, they have a difficulty finding an occupation in the Canadian labor market commensurate with their education and training. Job situations of Koreans seem to be worse in Canada than in the United States, because Canada has a smaller and less active economy than the United States and Canadian employers require immigrants to have job experience and schooling in Canada as a prerequisite for employment. As a result, people whose ability is not properly accredited turn to semi-skilled technical jobs such as dental technicians or self-employed businesses.

Like their U.S. counterparts, Korean immigrants in Canada are heavily concentrated in small businesses in retail, food, and accommodations, and other personal service industries. In 1996, 36.7% of employed Koreans were self-employed business owners and 4.3% were unpaid family workers. Hence about 40% of employed Koreans worked

in family businesses. Because sizable numbers of wage workers work in Korean-owned businesses, it is estimated that up to 70% of the Korean labor force participate in the Korean ethnic economy.

Despite the presence of the Korean ethnic economy, the employment situation of Korean workers is problematic. In 1996, only 25.9% of the Korean population 15 years and over worked full time year round, whereas 32.1% worked part of the year or part time. By contrast, 33.9% of the Canadian population 15 years and over worked year round and full time and 29.9% worked part time or seasonally. Korean workers are also disadvantaged with respect to employment income. In 1996, the average employment income of Korean full-time workers was $28,178, 75% of the employment income of the Canadian counterparts. The average earnings of part-time Korean workers was also only 84% of the average earnings of their Canadian counterparts. Due to unstable employment and lower earnings, the average personal income of Koreans 15 years and over was only 67% of the average personal income of the Canadian general population. All these statistics indicate that despite their advanced education and middle class backgrounds in Korea, Koreans, who are still at the early stage of economic adaptation in Canada, do not utilize fully their human capital in the Canadian labor force and have economic difficulties.

Conclusion

The Korean Diaspora is a complex and multifarious phenomenon that cannot be explained by a single theory. Each wave of Korean migration was driven by different historical factors in the mother country and the host countries and hence the motivations and characteristics of Korean immigrants in each period were different. Also, different conditions and government policies of the host countries greatly affected the mode of entry and incorporation in the host countries. Despite such regional and temporal differences in the Korean Diaspora, the above mentioned five groups of overseas Koreans seem to exhibit equally the following patterns of adaptation.

First, overseas Koreans experience disadvantages and discrimination at the early stage of adaptation, but they overcome such obstacles by strong work ethic and aspiration for upward mobility. In spite of their drive, they

seldom enter the elite class of the host country. Their socioeconomic position is generally intermediate between the elite and the masses.

Second, faced with disadvantages and discrimination in the labor market, overseas Koreans seek occupations that are relatively immune from social discrimination and governmental authority. They avoid politics, the military, and government, while they prefer independent work, such as private farming, academia, or self-employed businesses. Even in self-employed businesses, they concentrate in areas where members of the dominant group are reluctant to engage in because of low profit margins and low social prestige attached to them. The slot machine business of Koreans in Japan is a good example.

Third, after members of the first generation accumulate capital either through small business or wage employment, they tend to invest in their children's education. They believe that discrimination against racial minorities is inevitable and members of racial minorities need to have competitive skills and knowledge to achieve a certain degree of independence. Children of Korean immigrants equipped with advanced education become professionals or independent workers by climbing the shoulder of their parents. To provide better educational opportunities for their children, Koreans show strong propensity to live in large cities. In a nutshell, proclivity toward independent work, investment in children's education, and urbanization seem to be the common strategies of overseas Koreans to survive and prosper in unfriendly environments.

Fourth, Koreans maintain strong ethnic identity while accommodating to host society's culture and opportunity structures. Ethnicity is not merely a cultural and symbolic expression but affects life styles and life chances of individuals in such areas as occupation, marriage, friendship, and church affiliation. Their ethnicity is, however, dual identity that emphasizes ethnic origin and culture as well as collective experience in host society. The process by which Koreans are recognized not as individuals but as members of a particular ethnic group significantly affects the formation and maintenance of Korean ethnic identity. As a result, second and later generation Koreans maintain strong levels of ethnic identity and attachment even after they have been culturally and structurally assimilated. Their ethnic identity is more a reactive and emergent response to externally imposed distinction and societal

discrimination rather than a primordial, cultural, or symbolic expression. These findings illustrate that minority status constitutes an important component of Korean ethnic identity.

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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to compare and theorize migration, adaptation, and identity of overseas Koreans in China, the CIS, Japan, the United States, and Canada. The primary data for this study came from the review of existing literature and censuses and government publications of the five countries. Supplementary data came from three sets of surveys I have conducted in the United States, the CIS, and Canada.

The Korean Diaspora is a complex and multifarious phenomenon that cannot be explained by a single theory. Each wave of Korean migration was driven by different historical factors in the home country and the host countries and hence the motivations and characteristics of Korean immigrants in each period were different. Also, different conditions and government policies of the host countries greatly affected the mode of entry and incorporation in the host countries. Despite such regional and temporal differences in the Korean Diaspora, the above mentioned five groups of overseas Koreans seem to exhibit equally the following patterns of adaptation.

First, overseas Koreans experience disadvantages and discrimination at the early stage of adaptation, but they overcome such obstacles by strong work ethic and aspiration for upward mobility. In spite of their drive, they seldom enter the elite class of the host country. Yet, they rarely remain in the underclass position either. Their socioeconomic position is generally intermediate between the elite and the masses.

Second, faced with disadvantages and discrimination in the labor market, overseas Koreans seek occupations that are relatively immune from social discrimination and

governmental authority. They avoid politics, the military, and government, while they prefer independent work, such as private farming, academia, or self-employed businesses. Even in self-employed businesses, they concentrate in areas where members of the dominant group are reluctant to engage in because of low profit margins, fear of crime, and low social prestige attached to them. The slot machine business of Koreans in Japan is a good example.

Third, after members of the first generation accumulate capital either through small business or wage employment, they tend to invest in their children's education. They believe that discrimination against racial minorities is inevitable and members of racial minorities need to have competitive skills and knowledge to achieve a certain degree of independence. Children of Korean immigrants equipped with advanced education become professionals or independent workers by climbing the shoulder of their parents. To provide better educational opportunities for their children, Koreans show strong propensity to live in large cities. In a nutshell, proclivity toward independent work, investment in children's education, and urbanization seem to be the common strategies of overseas Koreans to survive and prosper in unfriendly environments.

Fourth, Koreans maintain strong ethnic identity while accommodating to host society's culture and opportunity structures. Ethnicity is not merely a cultural and symbolic expression but affects life styles and life chances of individuals in such areas as occupation, marriage, friendship, and church affiliation. Their ethnicity is, however, dual identity that emphasizes ethnic origin and culture as well as collective experience in host society. The process by which Koreans are recognized not as individuals but as members of a particular ethnic group significantly affects the formation and maintenance of Korean ethnic identity. As a result, second and later generation Koreans maintain strong levels of ethnic identity and attachment even after they have been culturally and structurally assimilated. Their ethnic identity is more a reactive and emergent response to externally imposed distinction and societal discrimination rather than a primordial, cultural, or symbolic expression. These findings illustrate that minority status constitutes an important component of Korean ethnic identity.